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THE REBEL CONFEDERACY.
A ROMANCE, BY REV. S. M. JENSON, of SYRACUSE,
Ohio.
(Continued.)

Book 12, Ch. 12. "Say ye not, A confederacy, to all
them that mention this people shall say, A confederacy."
"Say ye not, A confederacy," is Napoleon's language,
in warning with the Mexicans, thereby to gain
favoring on the continent, not only to establish
Emperor, but to divide the peace of the world.
"Say ye not, A confederacy," is the language of the
north, by British law, in vain, trust,
to gain territory on the South.

But if time that the American Church is the bul-
wark of slavery, as our own Commentator avers,
has it not ever said, "A confederacy." By the
church is meant, the body of professors, North
and South. Except some minor denominations, as
the anti-slavery Wesleyans, there has been no
division. "Say ye not, A confederacy," our ecclesi-
astical bodies, generally, have said, silently or
loudly. What have said the Episcopal Method-
ist organizations? Did this church, North and
South, divide in 1844, geographically? Still the
Northern portion has thousands of thousands of
slaves. The President's Proclamation does not
effect it, as it does the Church South. What
says the Episcopal Church, that "confederacy?"
What did it say, within a year, when gathered
at Trinity, New York, when John Jay, and others,
tried to get an expression of the body, condemn-
ing of the slave trade? What an uproar!
What did it say when its loyalty to the Govern-
ment was tested? Did not the body, with few
exceptions, fellowship Bishop Doak, and their
Southern brethren? The convention looked on
that minister who threw a bomb shell of inquiry,
as designing to blow them up, and it did so.
They adjourned almost *sine die*. Look, too, at
the Old School Presbyterian gatherings, and even
at its last sitting, a few weeks since, at Fort
W. Was it outspoken in behalf of the Government?
or did it say, "a confederacy?" What, too, of
the Doctors of Divinity? Have they not generally
been dumb on the subject of slavery?

How few have preached a whole gospel?
Few, very few. "They have kept back part of
the price," is it not? Though the war has
been a great convulsion, yet many ministers are
only convicted of sin, being once enlightened,
partially, for they saw slaves as trees walking,
and having backslidden, it is impossible to re-
turn them to repentance. Others have "gone
out from us, because they were not of us." Few
upon their knees, for the Church, being born
of the Kingdom of Christ and the ministry,
spoke, they remain true. Though God has
given them a tongue, it has not been loosed.
And it will yield of preaching a whole gospel,
and convincing those who preach the gospel,
they are silent, about the war, and its cause,
slavery, not preaching or praying in behalf of
the soldiers, the slaves, or the Government? Does
not the slave consent, and say, "a confederacy?"

"They hold their peace, too, when even the
very stones cry out, and God is raising up chil-
dren from the stones of slavery, unto Abraham,
Lincoln, and the Government. Many of our
Representatives and Senators in Congress, and
elsewhere, say, "a confederacy," but to mention
those who, "being dead, yet speak," but liv-
ing ones, like Vallandigham, equally guilty, say,
"a confederacy." Our Judges of inferior and
superior courts, have said it. Our legislative
bodies in some of the States, have said "a con-
federacy." Our Governors, our rulers, the peo-
ple with honorable exceptions, have said "a
confederacy." The various parties with their
proselyting platforms, have said "a confederacy."
They have said slavery, and that says rebellion,
and "a confederacy." Our Presidents elected
on these platforms, and pledging themselves not
to interfere with slavery where it existed (in-
cluding the Constitution), have said "a confederacy."
In return, God and the rebels are con-
federate with us? What says a portion of the
four-fifths of officers belonging to the Democratic
party, in army and navy? What said Hal-
lock's army under them, contrary to the Con-
stitution Act of Congress, in returning slaves
to the rebels, but "a confederacy?" Can
many of our officers, in refusing to heed the
information from the blacks? Alas! Many of our
officers have acted thus foolishly! Our
Administration has said "a confederacy," by
keeping pro-slavery men in command! What said
McClellan, who, for sixteen months, was kept,
at enormous expense of life and treasure, to an-
nounce, "all is quiet on the Potomac?" Our last
Congress said, "a confederacy," by not repealing
the Fugitive Slave law, thus ratifying, and more
than filling its measure of iniquity (Fillmore,
how relevant the name), who sanctioned the bill.
And today, fugitives are chased down in the
District of Columbia, which is contrary even to
that clause of the Constitution on which the
Fugitive Slave law is ostensibly, though unjustly
based, which has reference to States, and not to
the District. Our President has said, "a confederacy,"
in various ways, however unadvisedly,
by not enforcing the Constitution Act of Con-
gress, by not understanding the magnitude of
the rebellion, by looking to the Border States more
than to God for counsel, by not being willing to
have the blacks to be soldiers, as well as laborers.
Thank God, such necessity is laid upon us as our
only hope.

Our Administration says "a confederacy," by
setting aside, several of our ablest Generals—Fre-
mont, Butler, and Hunter; men who have proved
their loyalty, valor, and love of country; men
against whom no truthful accusation can be
brought, however many false witnesses they
they suborn. How strange! Generals who
would carry out the proclamation of liberty to
the slaves to the letter, as is seen by their own
proclamation of freedom. Men, too, the most
popular with the soldiers and people. Ah! that
"Seward!" Such men are laid on the shelf, or in
the language of Rochester, "turned out to pas-
ture." Neither will it avail for the President
to deny that these Generals are systematically
kept out of command! Nor to assert that "by
their own action they had placed themselves in
the position they occupied." The world knows
better. They are too anti-slavery for the Border
States, and the powers that be. "Designating
States and portions of States, over which the
proclamation extends, says, "a confederacy," by
protracting the war, thereby making victory less

The Principles

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

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Vol. IV.—No. 23.

certain, by not removing slavery, which gener-
ally is admitted (even by our Executive), to be
the cause of the war, and its continuance.
I need scarcely refer to the absurdity of a
slaveholder's loyalty, which restricts the pro-
clamation; for, if slavery is the cause of the re-
bellion, how can a man or State be loyal, which
perpetuates it? The fairness of the Govern-
ment in securing the enlistment and protection
of the black soldiers, "says a confederacy."
Strange! When the blacks are loyal, and our
most powerful allies, Gov. Seymour, of New
York, said "a confederacy," on replying to the
New York delegation of blacks, who offered their
services to the Government, as soldiers, "that he
served the lives of the blacks too tenderly to
sacrifice them in behalf of the Government." But
Conneticut said "no confederacy," in saying
with his name sake for Governor.

There are many professing Christian and
political papers, periodicals, and reviews, which
say "a confederacy." Two many *Reviews and
Worlds*, which are allowed to foment treason,
and bias the public in favor of the Confederacy.
And however constitutional it be that free
speech and a free press be maintained, still, it
is not to be abused. Judge Tany being yet in
the Supreme Court, makes the arrest of the col-
ors of such papers a military necessity, for if
brought before him, he would annul all justice
in the nation. "The blacks having no rights
which white men are bound to respect," there-
fore, Copperhead papers have all the rights.
But now, after no long a time, the pro-slavery
papers advocate free speech and free press, if it
be to be hoped that they will allow the anti-slav-
ery party and press equal liberty! What say
these Golden Oracles, which have long been in
our free States, but "a confederacy." What all con-
fession to resist the enrollment and the draft,
but "a confederacy," the triumph of Davis
and the re-instatement of the Democratic
party?

A very reprehensible course has generally
been adopted to gain enlistments: that of making
it disgraceful to be drafted. However well this
plan has succeeded in getting soldiers, it tends
to make the draft unpopular, and throw contempt
on it. Strange! Is it not as honorable to be
drafted as to enlist? Were our fathers of the
revolutionary or last war with England disgraced
by being drafted? Do we not revere their
memories? Many of our officers, in deriving
large salaries, appear to wish a protracted war,
and thereby say "a confederacy." Did they
have the spirit of Washington, who, at the be-
ginning of the revolutionary war, declined all
compensation for services, and "only served his
country for justice," were they thus actuated,
it would not have been so quiet on our Potomac.
Then the rebels would not be permitted, as now,
to make successful raids among us, and, un-
molested, to retreat. What says the Demo-
cratic nomination of Vallandigham for Governor
of Ohio, but "a confederacy?" What the idea
of nominating Gen. McClellan for next President?
Why not Davis? He will run equally well
among the Copperheads! Then God will say, as
of Ephraim, "He is joined to his idols, let him
alone," or as of the Jewish nation, "I gave you
a king in mine anger, and have taken him away
in my wrath."

"Say ye a confederacy," declare all who sel-
dily misinterpret the Constitution, making it
justly slavery. Shameful perversion! A gross
lie on its face, ratifiers, and all the people
who live under it. It really pro-slavery, what
a shame to Congress and the nation, not to amend
it! If true that the Constitution guarantees slav-
ery to the respective States (as many affirm),
and if slavery is the cause of the rebellion, how
it subverts itself and encourages the rebel! No
such words as "Sovereign State Rights," "slav-
ery," "slave," are found in that anti-slavery docu-
ment. They are interpolations. However up-
right God make men, he seeks out "many inven-
tions." Slaveholders themselves know that the
Constitution is not pro-slavery; therefore they
have demanded its revision, and have trampled
it under their feet. This we must do, said, Rev.
Dr. Smyth, of Charleston. Our Secretary of State
knows that the Constitution was anti-slavery when
he made that speech in the Senate, in 1850, ad-
vocating amendments, thereby making slavery
perpetual in this land. President Lincoln knew
that the Constitution was anti-slavery, therefore
he recommended to Congress its revision, "that
slavery might extend on, thirty-seven years, even
to the beginning of the twentieth century." For
pro-slavery, why change it, to make it sanction
slavery? Would it not continue as it is? Shameful
perversion! However common among Presi-
dents, Judges, Senators, ministers, or people,
such construction is blasphemous, next to going
to the Bible and the eternal throne to justify
slavery! Great God! It is time for thee to work
for men, make void thy law. The Constitution
voids supreme power in Congress. Power "to
provide for the common defence, and the general
welfare of the United States," is slavery for the
common welfare? Then, logically, is this rebellion
and war. The Constitution "guarantees to every
State in the Union a republican form of govern-
ment, and shall protect each of them against in-
vasion." Is slavery republican, or anti-republican?
Can it be democratic, or anti-democratic? Does
slavery protect each State from invasion? What
has invaded the Territories? What has invaded
the various political parties? What has invaded
the free Government? What, the *Chicks?*
What, the free States? What, the United States?
The enemy is slavery, which has destroyed the
heritage of our fathers. Slavery is the fox which
has destroyed the vine, which our fathers planted
on these shores. It brings forth sour grapes.
Slavery subverts our institutions, civil and relig-
ious, and has well nigh overthrown our Govern-
ment, and shall protect each of them against in-
vasion? What a traitor it is, then, to the interests
of this land? Slavery leaves war, and gives aid
and comfort to our enemies! Does the Constitu-
tion justify slavery? Never! If you admit this,
you say, "a confederacy," by making it
father the rebellion. Slavery! The allied pow-
ers of the world are not to be compared with it.
Is such enemy found in our Constitution.
Never! It is found in State constitutions, which
are amenable to the Federal compact, and are
only valid as they conform to it. God forbid,
then, that we, any longer, say "a confederacy,"
to who say, "a confederacy," by belicing the
Constitution, thereby making slavery the chief
crime of the Confederate States.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The Rendition Clause.

Those who deny that the benefits of the Con-
stitution are for the blacks as well as for the
whites, and affirm that the Government of the
United States is not bound to carry out its pro-
visions, so as to "establish justice and secure
the blessings of liberty to all the people of the
United States and their posterity" impartially,
must of necessity do so, on the ground that there
are certain exceptional clauses in the Constitu-
tion that limit the general provisions of that in-
strument, and that recognize a portion of the in-
habitants as slaves.

Accordingly, they speak of the "Compromises
of the Constitution," in favor of slavery—and
among these, they never fail to specify the
clause which, they say, provides for the rendition
of fugitive slaves. Were it not for this, and
one or two other clauses, they would have
to admit that the declared objects and general
provisions of the Constitution apply to all the
inhabitants, for the protection of their rights and
liberties, without distinction, and that conse-
quently, the Constitution requires the adminis-
trators of the Constitution to protect all "the
people of the United States" in the enjoyment
of the "blessings of liberty."

We propose, therefore, to take up, in order,
each one of these clauses, and see what is the
real meaning of each of them.
For the present, we take up the clause above
mentioned.

ART. 4, SECT. 2.

Clause 3. No person held to service or labor
in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping
into another, shall, in consequence of any law
or regulation therein, be discharged from such ser-
vice or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim
of the party to whom such service or labor may be
due.

This provision can not be applied, legally or
honestly, to fugitives from slavery. The Slave
Code denies personality to the slave, so that a
slave can not be a "person." Should the pursu-
ing master claim a "person" held to service and
labor, he would have to prove the fugitive a
"person," and that service was "due" from him.
This might be inconvenient, and would be an ad-
mission that the fugitive was not a slave. Aware
of this difficulty, the claimant never ventures
to claim a "person" held to service and labor, etc.
He always claims the fugitive as "his property,
his slave." But in doing this, he runs outside
of the provisions of this clause, which speaks
only of a "person"—not of property or of a slave.
Slaves are not "held" by the slave code to
service and labor? They are only sold to be
held "as chattels." Nothing can be "due" from
slaves, because they can "make no contracts,"
and assume no liabilities.

The phrases, "held to service,"—ART. IV, § 2,
clause 3, and "bound to service,"—ART. II, § 3,
clause 3, are legal phrases, and used in the same
sense as in deeds, both meaning the same, and
are applied to the very same persons; namely,
those "bound" and "held" by contract signed by
themselves or their legal guardians, and stating
the consideration and time; that is, the term of
years for which they are thus "bound" and

holding; and these phrases can not be applied to
others without manifest wrong, as well as out-
rage to the laws of language and the rules of
law. The "bound to service" were the same as
the "held to service," and were all free persons,
as intended apprentices, indentured servants, re-
demptors, and others bound by contract, not
slaves, who are not "bound" at all, but *kept as
property*.

The Legal Rule of Interpretation which insists
that the Constitution means what it says, and
that "the intention of the instrument must be
collected from the words," is a rule which for-
bids the application of this clause to fugitive
slaves, even if there are (legally speaking) slaves,
in this country. And so do the Rules that inter-
pretations should favor liberty—and that "what is
doubtful must be explained by that which is
not doubtful," and that "technical terms must
be taken in their technical sense." The terms
"persons," "due," and "held" to service and la-
bor, belong to this class. The Rule that the in-
terpretation of ambiguous passages must not sup-
pose dishonest intentions, nor give effect to
alleged "understandings" not expressed in the
language, is equally conclusive against the pro-
slavery interpretation of this clause.

The history as well as the words of this clause
forbids its application to fugitive slaves. To-
ward the close of the Convention, a proposal
was made to insert a provision for retaining
fugitive slaves. It was rejected by general ac-
clamation, and abandoned without defense. The
next day, this clause concerning "persons" from
whom "service or labor may be due," was pro-
posed and unanimously adopted, without debate.
So that the *intention* of the Convention, to
provide for the rendition of fugitive slaves, is
an established historical fact.

The preceding argument would hold good, ex-
cept slavery had legally existed in this country
at the time. But *this was not the case*. There
were and are no slaves, held in any "one State
under the laws thereof." There were and are
no positive municipal laws enslaving them. This
is not only conceded but is established for, by
the champions of Slavery—Judge Matthews, J.
C. Calhoun, Mr. Mason, Mr. Bayly, Mr. Toombs,
Mr. Douglass, General Stringfellow, and others.

This clause, therefore, can not apply, legally,
to fugitive slaves, because, in the eye of the law,
honestly expounded, there are no slaves in the
country, but are all entitled to freedom.
And with this the Constitution corresponds.
It can not have "recognized" a slavery which
never had any legal existence. The "Legal
Rules of Interpretation" and Decisions of the
Supreme Court forbid such a construction, (1)
because they declare "the people of the United
States" to be parties to the Constitution, and
consequently they can not be slaves, (2) because
the Constitution must be construed in accord-
ance with its Preamble and with its avowed
objects and manifest spirit, and with fundamen-
tal principles, justice, common law, and the pub-
lic good, also with the Law of Nations.

We have copied the preceding from the
pamphlet, *Our National Charter*, containing the
schools of the Constitution, and other National
Documents, also the Legal Rules of Interpre-
tation, at length, above cited.

A careful study of that pamphlet will show
that none of the clauses of the Constitution give
the least allowance to Slavery.

We shall copy further from the pamphlet,
hereafter, and examine the other clauses claimed
as supporting slavery.

northern schools. But it is no longer an experi-
ment. No equal number of children ever made
better progress in learning, under equal circum-
stances. The longer we remain in this work, the
more we see of it. Every experiment tried, every
day's labor, tends only to increase our love for
our interest in, and our appreciation of this, as
the most interesting, important, and profitable
missionary and educational work now presented
to the Christian Church, and the philanthropic
God is in it, setting his seal to it; saying to
all, "Go forward."

It is my pleasure to report to your readers that
in this city, the work of teaching the colored sol-
diers to read and write, is being done by a special-
ty. Through the kindness of Captains Croft, Jones,
and Bradley, and Lieutenant Townsend, who have
recently arrived here from Newbern, N. C., for
the purpose of recruiting colored soldiers, the
missionaries and teachers connected with this
mission are permitted to visit the headquarters,
and teach the men who have enlisted. Captain
Croft remarked to the men, "I think you should
all be thankful, first to God, and then to these
people, who are thus showing an interest in you,
and trying to help you. Improve your time, and
these privileges. Return to yourselves, then, as
nearly as you can, a group of seventy-five colored
soldiers, each with his Primer or Picture Lesson
book, studying as for every life, to find out which
is A, B, C, D, and then looking up to their teacher
with an expression telling, at once, of their deep
interest, and intense desire to repeat after them
correctly, the name of the letter or word. See how
they watch with astonishment, the changing fea-
tures of the unassuming but highly cultivated
ladies who are assisting them by such look,
word, and expression, that they are their friends,
and not their teachers."

Watch the evidences of gratitude depicted in
their countenances, for this their first opportunity
in most cases, to learn. Witness the heartfelt
"I will," in response to the injunction: "Now
scholars I want you to have your lesson perfectly
to-morrow." See the evidences, from day to day,
of growing confidence in these friends: a confi-
dence overcoming their first feeling of fear
—almost shame—in view of their ignorance and
inferiority in morals and culture. Who would
not crave a little investment, if not of time, of
that which is ever needed in missionary work—
material aid—in this cause? The men make
rapid progress, are determined and resolute in
their efforts, improving their time, knowing that
it is short, as they must soon leave.

God is thus constantly opening new and im-
portant fields of labor and usefulness to his peo-
ple, and rapidly increasing the means by which
he will carry forward and prosecute the moral
reform, while the physical conflict rages. Let us
work and pray for the progress of each, in
favor of God and humanity!

One of our day schools has been temporarily
suspended. But will probably be reopened early
in the middle of September. Mr. Tyler, one of
the teachers, has gone to his home in Salem,
N. J., to recover his health. His labors have been
highly efficient, and are appreciated, not only by
all connected with the mission, but especially by
the children and their parents. As indicative
of his hold on the hearts of the colored people, it is
deceiving evidence that the teachers and scholars
of the Methodist Sabbath School took occasion on
Sabbath last, to manifest their regrets at his leav-
ing, and their strong desire for his speedy re-
turn.

It was an interesting occasion. At the close
of the Sabbath school, Mr. Wilson, who is one of
the colored preachers, made an interesting ad-
dress to Brother Tyler, in behalf of the school,
which took as its title by surprise. This was
followed by interesting and happy remarks made
by Brothers Shepherd, Tynes, and Woodhouse,
all speaking in the kindest manner of Bro. Tyler,
thanking him for his manifest interest, and strong-
ly expressing their confidence in, and appreciation
of him. This was followed by hearty responses
from many of the teachers and parents present,
when suddenly the little hands of the hundreds of
children, and boys, and girls, and examinations of all
kind and young, to direct, to the regret felt of one
whom they loved so well, was to leave them.

They feared, they said, that Brother Tyler, would
get off among his friends, and forget to come
back. The praying sisters, concluded, however,
that he would return, for they had already begun,
and intended to continue to pray to "please
to send Brother Tyler back," and they truly be-
lieved he would do it. At the dismissal of the
school, hundreds would not be satisfied with any-
thing short of a hearty shake of the hand, adding,
"Brother Tyler, you must come back! Do, Bro.
Tyler, please to come back, for we cannot get
along without you!"

The recent census of colored people in this
Department shows a large proportion of those called
"contrabands," many of whom need assistance
from the charitable, in addition to such aid as
is afforded by the Government. Hundreds and
thousands of them must suffer without assistance,
in the way of clothing. There are aged and in-
firm ones, with none to care for them. There are
many sick ones, who need medical treatment, who
desire the attention of some one with heart and
feeling, and ought not to be subjected, as they
sometimes are, to the vulgarities and even insults
of some of the surgeons, employed by the Govern-
ment. There is more than one "Eliza" whose
hard and terrible suffering was to some extent
reported in the *Principles*, a short time since.

I wish your readers could see and converse with
that child of sorrow, for one half hour. It is my
sad privilege to visit her, frequently, as do others
connected with the mission. There are many
orphan children to be cared for. I have already
called the attention of your readers to the newly
established asylum here, for them. They are fast
being collected, and cared for, physically and
mentally. Although this is a Government insti-
tution, and the inmates are fed by Uncle Sam, yet
clothing, bedding, or furniture are left to be
provided by the benevolent North. Large and
liberal supplies should be forwarded for the pur-
pose, at once.

It will be borne in mind, that this Institution is
under the general direction of Dr. Brown of
Massachusetts, the well known, efficient, and
popular superintendent of Contrabands in this
immediate locality, while Capt. C. B. Wilder,
also of Massachusetts, acts as general superin-
tendent throughout this military department.

These names are a sufficient guarantee that every-
thing will be economically and faithfully man-
aged. The immediate detail and direction of the
Institution is under the care of the Misses Patton
and Doxey, of your State. The public will need
to bear in mind that a very large amount of
clothing, bedding, and cooking utensils are needed,
besides, the requirements of the asylum.

To look after the wants of the people at Craney
Island, and on the confiscated rebel farms, now

under the government care, Dr. Brown, has for
some months past had the efficient services of Misses
Lucy and Sarah Chase, from Massachusetts, whose
labors of love, and devotion to their work, are
such as few ladies, and still fewer men, evince.
With gifts and accomplishments fitting them to
fill any station, they are here, laboring, early and
late, visiting farms, enquiring after the necessities
of the people, administering to the sick, distribut-
ing clothing or books, suggesting habits of clean-
liness, order, and propriety, and giving instruc-
tion to old and young as they have opportunity.
All clothing sent to Dr. Brown is distributed by
their judicious hands.

Our second neighbors have been not a little
stirred up, lately, by the presence of the land con-
troversy, the 14th Reg. N. Y. Volunteers, at our
residence, discussing various topics. It was a
pleasant experience, to us; one long to be re-
membered. Several officers of the different Reg-
iments in the vicinity also honored us with their
presence. The prejudice heretofore existing to-
wards us, on the part of the soldiers, is fast dying
out. The colored race is fast being recognized as
worthy of respect, and as deserving of sym-
pathy.

We all rejoice in the increased and increasing
popularity of the *Principles*. It deserves it, and
we bid it a hearty God speed.
Let the people have light now, and our country
will yet be saved. "God speed the right."

Yours ever,
"CONTINUANT."

OUR MISSISSIPPI CORRESPONDENCE.

CORINTH, MISS., Aug. 29, 1863.

Editors of *Principles*:—

After our long night of desolation how cheering
to welcome the first ray of liberty! For years I
have been a doubting Thomas, as to the redemption
of our country. Our cup being nearly full,
it has seemed to me that "the wrath must come
upon us to the uttermost." While others have
said that the fatal spear has already been thrust
into slavery's side; I have been unable to get my
hands into the wounds. Nor am I now, after the
strictest Biblical Philosophy, able to demonstrate
its downfall, through the agency of the War.
Nevertheless we can all rejoice over some cheer-
ing indications, throughout our land, that Abra-
ham is about to let the people go free.

1. The appointment of Fred. Douglass to a
Gen. Thomas in organizing colored Regiments,
portends disaster to the South and renewed suc-
cess to the North. It is a well aimed shaft from
the hands of our Chief Magistrate at the barba-
ric system of caste-supporting, for in these eighty
years, the villainous wrongs of slavery. Besides,
no man in the land could have been commissioned
to do this work, of more efficiency than Doug-
lass.

2. The protection guaranteed alike to all sol-
diers under our Country's flag, is a grand move.
No longer may slavery leech out the blood from
its suffering, Eagle, nor petty tyrants obscure its
Stars and Stripes. The sacred, inalienable rights
of human nature, of which it has always been the
pride and boast, are now to be
professed and guarded, are now to be
enforced, as long and so far as it flows upon the
bosom of our land. Let the heroes of the colored
soldier protect that revolutionary flag, and it is
solemnly pledged to protect him. Should the
Southern tyrants dare to disregard its meaning
and hurt any prisoner fighting far from home,
of their fate and follow hearted chivalry will be
brought to restitution. An eye for an eye, and a
tooth for a tooth, will hereafter be the law, free
from the old shame of caste and exploitation.

3. Although much remains to be done in the
earnest, honest and efficient enforcement of the
President's Emancipation Proclamation, yet it is
getting under way, down in these parts, decidedly
faster than heretofore. Like a great ball under
the power of gravity, we hope its motion will be
accelerated in mathematical ratio. If so, not only
will the rebellion be crushed out in one year's
time, but the great national jubilee of "Liberty
throughout all the land" to all the inhabitants
thereof will be proclaimed.

4. The power of knowledge is working—it
may be slowly—but certainly, surely, among the
colored people. Here, in Corinth, a young man
having nothing to do, last winter, started a school
for their instruction. Being attended with unex-
pected success, the matter has now swollen to
near 500 scholars. Nothing can exceed their
desire and success in learning, unless it be the
old student that they "can't learn!" Be so-
lides, their association, in camp, with intelligent
officers and soldiers is rapidly bringing them up
to the common level of knowledge. As the sol-
dier under drill learns the tactics of his officer, so
do colored people, both in and out of the ranks,
learn whatever is known. If this knowledge,
now being so rapidly gathered, should not hence-
forth prove to be *power* in their hands, then will
the maxim prove false, of which there can be
little doubt.

5. But the love of brightest promise in our
dark skies, is pointed through the prism of legis-
lation. The blessed revolution in this begins
to stand out more prominently, in all this region.
Last Sabbath, on my way to preach for the
18th Mo., one of their leading Captains
said, "When I enlisted in this war, I was
pro-slavery, and soon arrested two slaves and
sent them back to their traitorous masters; while
now, I should do exactly the contrary."

After a radical sermon to the Regiment, its
honest Colonel, with many of its officers, met me
with warm congratulations, on the power of the
truth delivered. As the war began, they were
slaveholders; as it ends, they are putting the axe
to the Uproar tree. In the Memphis Bulletin of
yesterday, which I send you, appeared an article
from a citizen of Nashville, almost as sound and
as radical as the old fashioned anti-slavery of
the North. The vile system is being dragged
out of his hiding place, and its monstrous deforma-
ties exposed. It can no longer be shielded at the
horns of the altar. On our late national thank-
sgiving day, the old conservative churches of
Memphis failed to open, and their members have
thereby incurred the decided and often expressed
disapprobation of every true patriot. Their
guise has fallen off, and their disloyalty clearly
exposed and condemned. The lines are being
clearly drawn, on the great issue of freedom
versus slavery.

The long desired battle is being joined between
those in behalf of the sacred rights guaranteed
by the Declaration of Independence, and those
opposed. Who, believing in the power of Truth,
Justice, and God, can doubt the happy result?
W. P., Chaplain 72 Ills. Infantry.

BEAUTY OF YOUTH.—Is it not true that the
young not only are not, but really are, the
most beautiful in the presence of those they
love? It calls forth all their beauty.

This fund is for the circulation of the *Principles*
among the soldiers, officers, and chaplains of our
army—missionaries in the southern and western
fields—and ministers of the gospel, who will act
as agents in extending the circulation of the paper.

Those who contribute are requested to state to
which of the above classes they wish their funds
applied, or whether they will leave it discre-
tionary with the Trustees.

All donations will be acknowledged through
the mail, and receipts for the paper sent to the
parties with the donor's name in every case, when
practicable.
J. W. ALLEN,
Treasurer and Publisher.

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whom liberal commission will be paid. Apply
to the Publisher, 101 William St., New York, or
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SENTIMENT IN WESTERN NEW YORK.

The writer, having travelled through several
counties in Western New York, found almost
everywhere, an increasing healthy sentiment
among the people. The great mass of farmers
are intelligent reading men, and everywhere
there is among them a growing anti-slavery sen-
timent. They are thoroughly loyal, and are will-
ing—desiring rather—that Slavery and the Slave-
holder's rebellion should be put down together.

Among all classes, however, there exists a
great ignorance of both the letter and the spirit
of the Constitution of the United States, the sen-
timent being quite general, that in some way or
other it tolerated, or rather sanctioned, the insti-
tution of slavery. To be told that the Constitu-
tion was framed for Freedom and not for Slav-
ery—for Liberty and Justice, for the people of
the United States and their posterity; was mat-
ter of astonishment to many. Well, they would
say, slavery has always existed. Yes, just as
robbery and murder have always existed, the
former being as truly a violation of the constitu-
tion as either of the latter.

There is a wide field for the circulation of
"Our National Charter" throughout the coun-
try. They ought to be so well broadcast, over all
the land.

Copperheads are to be found almost every-
where. But their stronghold is in the villages
and around the taverns. They are also fostered
and cherished in certain churches.

Given

carrying more stomach than brains, or even dropping the human form and taking, perhaps they were half proud of the semblance of the bestial tribes. But nobody ever thought of suspecting them of being likely to give way to such a foible, as saying: "Before you think of putting down a West-Indian rebellion, reflect how very unpleasant to the rebels it would be to take the assistance of a well as regiments in England, has been proved both in and out of Parliament. But the garrulous might as well have appealed to the sorrows of their fraternity, which would be the inevitable consequence of invoking the aid of the true men, as anybody expect to impose this argument on a Cis-Atlantic public. Many things have we English done foolishly; but nothing to be compared to this.

T. Perrot Thompson.

"Are we out of the Woods?"

It is to be feared that friends in America, in military parlance, "cheering before they are out of the wood." It is all very well that they should be in high spirits and full of hope. But an accurate assessment of what is done and what is not, a cold, scientific estimate of where they are and the machinery which is still to be used against them, is what a good Adjutant-General would like to see lying on the table of his office, and his General-in-Chief refer to as one of the natural elements of success.

Friends say, that "the great work of liberation, thank God, is substantially done." Great cause for thankfulness, no doubt, that it has got so far as it has. But has it got to the end, or near to the end; and do we, humbly speaking, the chances of some most sorrowful winding up, if the art of men can compass it, appear to grow? In one sense the end may be sure; but how much is still left, for faith and patience to work upon? "Thank God, we live to feel that Slavery is ended." But is it ended? Where is it ended? What are the tokens of its being ended? A thing cannot be ended where it never was; and where it always was, what has been done towards ending it? It is true there is a Proclamation, the shabbiest and most disgraceful thing as it has turned out, that official man ever shamed himself withal. But what else? except throwing away five hundred thousand lives rather than it should be made a truth?

"No more colles! no more slave-markets! no more scourings! no more fugitive-slaves!" Have our friends eaten of the insane root? Where has there been of these things one less, except as it might be temporarily checked by the mere circumstance of there being a war? Scouring for instance; will there be a scouring the less, when the slave-rod comes to pay off its arrears, which may have lagged behind the usual rate, through the manifest impolicy of risking resistance in a time of danger? "Colles,"—has anything been done towards hindering colles,—or will be, when the shameful compromise is completed, which is manifestly in the wind? "Slave-markets" will be plenty for the victorious South, when it walks triumphantly out of the contest in which it has humbly its "victory." That there will be no more fugitive-slaves, depends on how far the South will stand out on that article, when the time for patching up a peace with the beaten comes.

The simple truth is, that the *animus* of the Northern States is to be beaten. Let there be no mistake on this head, or any supposition that it is meant to impute slackness to the friends of justice, according to their means. They may be angels; but they are limited cherubs. By *animus* is meant the aggregate or compound mind; and that, there is a reason to believe, is for rewarding rebellion with success, as evidenced by the fact of a government being able to eschew the rational means, and throw away the life-blood of the citizens on all manner of false issues.

Again,—instead of the things affirmed to be annihilated, there is "free labour" and "an intelligent, well-trained, black army?"

Where is the "free labour" that was not before? In what corner of the land has the government authorized, or protected, or given decent moderate assurance that such a thing would be winked at, as any general, orderly plan for inviting adherence to a system of peace and return to the Union, on the principle of amnesty and security of labour to those who, in Indian phrase, will "come into camp" and make themselves? Was the writer's good fortune to have served on the staff of a most estimable and humane General, where a pacification of this kind was carried out, against wild tribes who went under the name of pirates, and truly enough were perilous acquaintances to harmless merchantmen on the high seas. The terms were, the abandonment of piracy, and an agreement that the Slave Trade should be deemed a piratical act. The sea-rovers were first well beaten, and their forts destroyed; but there was always a party ready to acknowledge that honest trade was the best thing of the two, and the peace lasts, to this day. Of those who were art and part, the half are gone to their rest. It may be a question whether they or those left behind, have the best opinion of the policy.

A "black army" too; but where? Not where four millions out of nine were praying for the recruiting officer; but in every way where it may be frittered away as the 300,000 whites will be, and be, like everything else as a sham, and a present to the enemy.

Sham is a good classical word in England. If it is not understood in America, it will be.

T. PERROT THOMPSON.

*We cannot wonder that this impression has been made, on the minds of intelligent friends abroad.—On the part of some of the President's advisers, who reluctantly gave the Proclamation their sanction, even in its exceptional and exceptional form, and who seem to have labored to make it as innocuous as possible, we can not say that we think better of their intention than does our correspondence.—We think the President meant what he said; and that the indications of its ultimate efficiency are on the increase.

Ed. Principia.

JOHN RANDOLPH'S SARCASTIC.

The following characteristic incident is related of John Randolph, of Roanoke:—

A member of the lower House, from Virginia, had recently died. With this gentleman Randolph was on very friendly terms. His successor was elected in part, as was said, from his holding up the idea, that if elected, he would "chastise John Randolph into his senses." This brag had been in his seat but a few days, when he sought to redeem his pledge by making a furious attack on the gentleman from Roanoke. He was in the full tide of angry declamation, when the object of his abuse entered the House. On taking his seat he barely looked at the speaker, and then began a hasty perusal of the newspapers and documents on his desk. All expected a reply, and rare sport as a matter of course, but they were, for that time, disappointed. Some days after, however, when the House, the lobbies, and galleries were full, Randolph obtained the floor to speak to some resolution then under consideration.

In the course of his remarks, he took occasion to speak in the most complimentary terms of his friend, the deceased member whose seat was then occupied by his successor, who was a large, portly man. With inimitable elevation, which lashed the House into the most perfect silence, he turned to the seat occupied by his rude antagonist, and said with his blandest but most scorching irony, "I allude to my esteemed friend from Virginia, lately deceased,

and whose seat is still vacant!" As his incomparable emphasis fell on the word "vacant," the death-like silence was dispelled by the most tumultuous laughter, defying all control, and in which friends and foes alike joined. It was told me as a fact by an intelligent informant, who had it from one who professed to be personally acquainted with the facts, that the effect of this adroit innuendo was so killing to the principal victim, that he resigned his seat in the body in which he had so boldly proposed to chastise John Randolph, into his senses.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, SEPT. 10, 1863.

ISSUE OF NEW STOCK.

In pursuance of a vote of the Stockholders of the PRINCIPIA ASSOCIATION, at their adjournment of Annual Meeting, at their office, 104 William Street, July 1, 1863, authorizing the Trustees to issue new stock, in form and manner following:

Notice is hereby given

that Subscription Books are now open at the office of the Principia Association, 104 William Street, New York, for subscription to the New Issue of Stock, namely, One Hundred and Twenty Shares of Fifty dollars each, bearing interest at the rate of seven per cent.

Old Stockholders are hereby notified that an opportunity is now afforded them to increase their stock, by subscribing, as above. Subscriptions from new Stockholders are also invited.

Persons at a distance, desirous of investing in this stock, can authorize the Treasurer, J. W. Allen, to subscribe for the amount they may desire.

J. W. ALLEN, Treasurer.
GEO. B. CHURCH, WILLIAM GODELL, W. L. ALLEN, S. S. JUCKLEY, EDWARD GILBERT, Trustees.

The Women's Loyal National League has resumed its sessions, as will be seen by referring to the advertisement in another column. The story circulated by some of the Copperhead journals of this city, that the League was a failure, and had "slid out," is a sheer fabrication. It is prosperous, and will, we trust, accomplish the noble work it has undertaken.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Which we publish, to-day, like everything appearing under its signature, is, unmistakably, his own; and we regard it as the best specimen that has yet appeared: receiving it as a faithful record of his own thoughts, in the use of language adapted and designed to express, not to conceal, his opinions and intentions. So far as he has a part, a policy, a programme of operations (as from military details not proper to be made public), we think the President has frankly told the people all that was in his heart. We like his habit and manner of familiar communication with his fellow citizens, whether orally or with the pen, a peculiarity which distinguishes him from all his predecessors, and so far as we know, or remember, from all holding positions of equal elevation, ancient or modern. Some may think it undignified and impolitic; but we do not. It is practical, democratic, and honest, qualities which will greatly strengthen him, with the masses of the people. The letter is timely and pertinent, treating on topics of deep solicitude to the public, and in respect to which the positions of the President have been differently understood among his supporters, as well as misrepresented by his opponents. With the latter, he argues his points with great clearness, directness, tact, skill, and force. It will be difficult for them, with equal frankness and directness, to answer him, or neutralize, with the public, the effects of his appeal. Administration stock, in the political market, ought to rise ten or twenty per cent. in consequence. Whether it will afford the price of gold, or the chance of foreign intervention, we cannot say. It hardly goes down deep enough into first principles, for that.

From the previously defined and ascertained standpoint of the President, his antecedents, his theory of the Constitution, his accepted political maxims, and, especially, his present surroundings and associates, this utterance is quite as favorable to the cause of freedom as could have been expected—much more favorable than has been feared. The President still thinks his Emancipation Proclamation constitutional, notwithstanding the assaults of its enemies. He has no notion of retracting it. If annulled, it must by other hands than his own. More than this, "The promise being made, must be kept." We think the President, for that declaration, we thank God, and take courage.

Quite appropriately, the paragraph closing with the sentence last quoted ("The promise being made, must be kept") is immediately followed by another, which opens with, "The signs look better."

Well, we think they do; not so much, or primarily, on account of the victories which the President proceeds to enumerate, as on account of the connection that we apprehend to exist between uprightness of purpose, in our rulers, and the favors of Divine Providence that secure victories. Who knows but that our recent victories are the fruits of the President's determination that "The promise must be kept?"

So long as the President could have struck deeper into that vein of moral obligations, and affirmed the moral and constitutional duty of the Government to "secure the blessings of liberty to all" the people of the United States, and their posterity. But let us be thankful for the encouragements of to-day, and trustfully pray and labor for the realization of them, in the future.

MODE OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Views of Robert Dale Owen.

The N. Y. Tribune, notwithstanding its declared aversion to a discussion of the conditions of Reconstruction, occupies towards five columns of its daily issue of Sept. 3, with a letter of Robert Dale Owen, to Secretary Seward, on that subject, adding, in another column, an editorial notice of the same, declaring it to be "a subject of great interest and importance." So the discussion, after all, is to go forward, and is not entirely excluded from the Tribune.

The letter is called forth by the following extract from Mr. Seward's letter to Mr. Dayton, Minister at Paris, under date of Feb. 6, 1863:

"It is true, indeed, that peace must come, some time, and that confederates must attend, if they are not allowed to proceed, the peace must come. There is, however, a better form of such confederates than the one which M. Drouyn de Lhuys suggests. The latter would be palpably in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, and would carry no weight, because the sanction necessary to bind either the loyal or disloyal portions of the people.

"On the other hand, the Congress of the United States furnishes a constitutional form for delegates from the alienated parties. Senators and Representatives from the loyal people are there always, fully empowered to confer, and seats are also vacant, inviting the Senators and Representatives of the disaffected party who may be constitutionally sent there, from the States involved in the insurrection.

The letter of Mr. Owen presents a different view, and closes with a recapitulation of his positions and the conclusions reached by him, as follows:

"Assuming, what seems probable, that we shall remain victors in this war, suffer me, in conclusion, briefly to group together the main positions that I have advanced.—We think the President, the inhabitant of the insurrectionary States have, at present, no constitutional right to elect a member to Congress."

We, the inhabitants of the non-insurrectionary States, may, by law, restore to them that right; and with us it is to decide upon what conditions it shall be restored.

The preliminary condition ought to be some sufficient guaranty that the Emancipation Proclamation shall never be repealed, and that, the institution of Slavery shall never again, in any part of the insurrectionary territory, be revived.

Our own national faith, already pledged before the world, to three millions of suffering people, demands this. The law of nations permits and enjoins it. We had a right, by that law, to destroy slave property belonging to a public enemy. It was a national duty to destroy property so dangerous, in order to render that enemy "incapable of doing mischief with the same case in future."

We offered against no principle of humanity in destroying this property; in other words, in canceling life-long claims to service or labor. The humanity would have been to refrain from canceling them.

Nor do we actually harm the slave claimant by canceling his claims. In point of fact, it is greatly to his advantage, socially and pecuniarily, to be freed from them. And we imperceptibly interfere in his business—arguably and imperceptibly assuming to judge what is best for him—when we determine this? Not at all. The business is emphatically our own; for it intimately concerns our national safety. In deciding it we see that there is neither impropriety nor arrogance, but proper precaution, and prudent foresight. If he refrained from leaving war against his Government, he would have had the undoubted right to judge and to act in this affair. As it is, he has lost it; and we have not the right, and the power, to decide the matter; not he.

Before the vacated chairs in Congress are filled, let us make the decision. Failing in this high duty, we sacrifice at once the Public Honor and the Public Safety.

All this goes upon the assumption that a portion "the people of the United States" are "property."

The arguments by which Mr. Owen fortifies the preceding positions, are much the same as those adduced by Mr. William Whiting, published and commented upon in the Principia of Aug. 28.

Such arguments ignore the fundamental obligations resting on all civil governments to secure the inalienable rights of all their subjects, as was affirmed in our Declaration of Independence, and was repeated in the Preamble of the Constitution, as its grand objects. Ignoring these, Mr. Owen, like Mr. Whiting, finds himself under a necessity of proving that the rebel States lost their sovereign independent right to chattelize the people of the United States, by their rebellion against a government that—unlike all other governments—was clothed with no right of protection, the constant and sequence of allegiance! And so the right of the nation to be a free nation, and of its government to be a free government, is made to hinge upon occult questions of international law, the rights of conquered belligerents—intricate and contested questions, on which high authorities can be quoted on both sides, as was done in the discussions of the last Congress, with no prospect of arriving at any common and satisfactory conclusion.

We object to all this, as befogging and complicating the discussion, and making the tremendous issue upon premises of questionable soundness. Besides, besides being unimportant to our present condition, in this (as before) noted state, it denies to the loyal people of the rebel States, black and white, any better or other legal status than that of the rebels! How an equitable "Reconstruction" excluding slavery, is to be had, upon such a basis, does not clearly appear. If the loyalists of the South, as well as the rebels, have forfeited their rights—if the right of slaveholding is to be placed upon the basis of all other rights—this doctrine assumes—with what face, or by what process can "the inhabitants of the non-insurrectionary States" "by law, restore to them that right," without restoring the right of slaveholding? The premises implicitly conceded, by Mr. Owen (the original constitutional right of slaveholding) upsets his conclusion. To suppose a "reconstruction" on that foundation is to suppose a reconstruction on the ground of a prohibition of slavery, henceforth, forever in the rebel States, coupled with a recognition of the right of slaveholding, as an original constitutional right, of which the "loyal" slave states are not to be deprived!

The rebel states, according to Mr. Owen, if ever received back again, must either come back with the recognized right of Constitutional slaveholding, or come deprived of that recognized right. If the former, the object of Mr. Owen's argument is not attained. If the latter, then the must come, according to Mr. Owen, short forever of the original Constitutional right of slaveholding conceded by Mr. Owen, to the "loyal" slave states and to all the non-slaveholding states. The Western Prairie States may introduce slavery, if they please, on Mr. Owen's theory, and enjoy the blessed privilege forever, along with Maryland and Kentucky, if loyal, while the Carolinas must be doomed to perpetual freedom, however loyal in future, and however earnestly they may last after the leeks and onions of slavery. How shall they be persuaded to submit to the degradation of such an inequality of "State Rights"? Or how, in case of their quiet submission, shall "the Union" be preserved from the shame, the guilt, and the disturbance of future wars of rebellion growing out of the slavery of the now "loyal" border States, and of the other States that may choose to exercise their conceded Constitutional "State Right" of slaveholding, when the copperheads of Indiana and Illinois, shall have been re-enforced by immigrations of malcontents from the non-rebel States and from the non-slaveholding States?

So long as slavery remains in any of the states, say, so long as the Constitutional "State Right" of slaveholding continues to be conceded, or is not explicitly and practically denied, so long will the roots of the old cancer remain, ensuring a future eruption from the outgrowth. Why cannot Mr. Owen, perceive that his proposed remedy contains the roots of the evils he would eradicate? Why, to use his own language, can he not see "the iniquity" as well as "the folly" of such an expedient? What moral right has the nation to tolerate slavery in one section of its territory, more than in another section? Or how, in the exercise of "common sense" can it adopt the policy of doing so?

It is slaveholding, not the slaveholding of rebels, that, for three quarters of a century past, has been rolling up this avalanche of destruction and desolation for our shoulders, which we are now groaning under, and struggling, like Sampson, in his blindness, to remove. What boots it to stipulate that, in the future, the past, loyal citizens and loyal States only, shall be permitted to roll up such avalanches for us?

Slavery, itself, is rebellion against freedom. Why dream of securing free institutions in the presence and by the tolerance of slavery? Instead of warring himself to elaborate provisions not likely to be adopted, and which, if adopted, could only afford temporary relief, why could not Mr. Owen strike, directly, at the root of the evil? Why not plant himself upon the self-evident truth of our immortal Declaration, and upon our great Charter, the Constitution, expounded in the light of its glorious Preamble, and in the use of the legal rules of interpretation that are authoritative on all other legal questions, declare the whole truth, that there can be no "State Right" to maintain slavery, and that the Constitution imperatively demands its national suppression, whether in peace or in war, whether in loyal or disloyal States? His argument would then stand on a firm moral, logical, and constitutional basis, and would commend itself to Mr. Seward, who knows the whole truth on this subject, as thoroughly as any man living, and only lacks the moral courage and honesty to avow it.

By so doing, Mr. Owen could have brought himself into harmony with himself, and his argument into or onto the track of his object. As it is, he has done neither.

Take a few specimens.

"I desire, as you see, to see the vacant chairs in Congress filled. I desire to see them filled, as you have expressed it, by those who may be constitutionally sent there. I desire, at the earliest moment consistent with the public safety, to see received, in favor of the people of the South, those constitutional privileges which they legally forfeited by leaving war against their and our Government."

What "constitutional privileges"? Is slaveholding included among them? If not, then the whole framework of his elaborate argument falls, for it is all based on the assumption that the privilege of right was forfeited by the rebellion. Why, else the above declaration?

But if those "constitutional privileges" are to be "restored," what becomes of Mr. Owen's, proposal that "the institution of slavery shall never again, in any part of the insurrectionary territory, be revived?"

How can "the forfeited" "constitutional privileges" be "restored"—if the exercise of it is, henceforth, to be prohibited?

Again, Mr. Owen, quotes Alexander H. Stephens as saying:

"Negro slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Mr. Jefferson, in his forecasts, had anticipated this, as the rock on which the old Union would split."

This statement Mr. Owen, receives as truthful, and uses it, as a link in his argument. Nevertheless, his own proposition if fully carried out, merely prohibits slavery in the States that have actually rebelled, leaving it to do its pleasure and its work elsewhere, to be the cause of another "rupture and revolution"—another "split" of the Union—as Mr. Jefferson, in his forecasts, anticipated.

Mr. Owen himself warrants us in saying that such would be the inevitable result. Hear him:

"Let us not blame the men (the slaveholders), except if he for seeking to uphold the monstrous system, handed down to them by their forefathers. They must resist the Federal authority, to maintain that system. They must violate the constitutional provision which forbids to abridge 'the liberty of speech or of the press; self-defense and its necessities compel them. They found this necessity before the war, in order to save slavery from destruction; the necessity will be increased, beyond measure, after its close."

This is just as true of the now "loyal" slaveholders, and "loyal" States, as of those, who, before the war, were loyal. What an absurdity, in the light of this paragraph, is the assumption, running through the argument of Mr. Owen, that the States, while remaining "loyal," have a right to maintain slavery? By Mr. Owen's own showing, such a constitutional right "must" include the right to violate the express provisions of the Constitution itself! What "folly" to think of cementing the Union by any arrangement based on the recognition of such a right!

Once more. Of the rebellious South, Mr. Owen, very pertinently inquires:

"Shall we tempt her again into fellowship, by an offer to restore her constitutional rights, and a promise to maintain intact her system of slave labor? Vanquished, exhausted, but with her convictions unchanged, she might agree to such an offer. Permitted also, she knows well, it could never be; but she knows also the vast advantage, in her present prostrate condition, of two or three years' breathing time. Shall we for an opportunity to rest, and to recruit her strength, and replenish her resources?"

Certainly not, Mr. Owen. And for the same reasons, we must not tempt the "loyal" slave states to remain with us, by a promise to recognize and protect her constitutional rights to maintain slavery, and "promise to maintain, intact her system of slave labor." The armistice, so to speak, the continuance of peace, would not be "permanent," in the one case than in the other. "Shall we offer" to slavery, "an opportunity to recruit her strength, and replenish her resources" in the Border States, and smuggle it back into the more Southern States, as it was smuggled from South Carolina into Georgia, whose charter expressly forbade it? Heaven forbid!

We must do Mr. Owen, and our readers the justice to say, that the greater part of his Letter is truly valuable and timely, as setting forth, in a clear and strong light, the absolute necessity of carrying out the Act of Congress, and the action of the President, liberating the slaves in the rebel States. That part of the argument is very able, and we regret our want of room to present it to our readers. The specialty of the Principia, as set for the defence of the most neglected and exposed points of the argumentative warfare, has obliged us to dwell on what we deemed the weak points of the Letter, only regretting that so able a writer should have left them unguarded, by adhering to the old absurd pro-slavery theory of the Constitution. In the quaint words of a shrewd New England Deacon, who we once knew—"Pity that a man could know so much more than most people, couldn't have known a little more." Many an able advocate loses his case, and many an important measure of legislation, fails, for this cause.

We remark, in conclusion, that such able, yet abortive efforts as those of Mr. Owen and Mr. Whiting, to find a basis, and to point out a process for reconstructing the Union without slavery, make the agit of a Constitution constructed by them to tolerate slavery, to recognize the constitutional "State Right," to maintain slavery, with a promise to maintain intact the system of slave labor, in a part, at least, of the States, affords an incontrovertible demonstration, either of the falsity of those constitutional expositions, or else of the utter worthlessness of the Constitution itself, for the purposes of "securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States, and their posterity." As Mr. Owen and Mr. Whiting construe the Constitution, it interposes the chief obstacle to the preservation of our free institutions, at the present crisis! Can it be that such a construction is the correct one?

It is not high time that the soundness of such theories of the Constitution were examined, and compared with "the Constitution as it is?"

THE EXCELLENCE OF NEGRO SOLDIERS.

A hundred proofs are coming, and the President reminds the nation of the good service the negro soldiers have already done. One battle, at least, he says could not have been gained without them.

There is a reason for their courage and good behavior in battle. It is to be found in the fact of their temperance, patience, industry, and other good qualities at home. William Wells Brown has gathered some interesting and impressive evidence in his valuable book, "The Black Man." Among other statements, take the following testimony:

"A movement was made in the legislature of South Carolina to expel the free blacks from that State, and a committee was appointed to investigate the matter. In their report the committee said, 'We find that the free blacks of this State are among our most industrious people; in this city (Charleston) we find that they own over two and a half millions of dollars worth of property; that they pay thousands and tens of thousands of dollars in taxes to the city.'

"Dr. Nehemiah Adams, whom I have already quoted, also testifies to the good character of the free colored people; but he does it unintentionally; it was not a part of the programme; how it slipped in, I cannot tell. Here it is, however, from page 41 of his South Side View.

"A prosecuting officer, (Dr. Adams, says) who had six or eight counties in his district, told me that, during eight years service, he had made out about two thousand bills of indictment, of which not more than twelve were against colored persons."

In the Southern Rights Convention at Baltimore, held June 8th 1860, a resolution was adopted, calling on the legislature to pass a law driving the free colored people out of the State. The argument was that it would not be safe to let the example of industrious and prosperous free negroes be seen by the negroes in slavery; it would make them discontented. Judge Mason argued that "it was the thrifty and well to do free negroes that were seen by the slaves, that they were dissatisfied." It was argued that the free colored people must be driven out to make the slave's obedience more secure. But the project did not succeed. The non-slaveholder interfered, and declared that the free colored population could not be spared—and, for once, they carried their point, against the slaveholders.

But when a similar effort was made in Tennessee, Judge Catron, of the Supreme Court of the United States, opposed the driving out of the colored people. He said, they were among the best mechanics, the best artisans, and the most industrious laborers in the State, and that to drive them out would be an injury to the State itself.

They not only take care of the State, but of their own masters; and in like manner the slaves, even in their slavery, are the back bone of the South.

"Soldiers, forsooth," they cannot take care of themselves," said a rebel woman, whose slave had been taken into the United States army. She was begging that her "servant" might be restored to her. It was refused, because he was one of our soldiers. The women pleaded that the slave had been given to her, to take care of her, and she had no other dependence. "Why, Madam, you have just said, that he could not take care of himself; of course, he cannot take care of you; he can do you no good; but he makes for you a good soldier, and we must keep him."

But the best item by far, and the most satisfactory light on this subject, is contained in such a statement as the following, from a reliable gentleman of high official position in the State of Rhode Island, dated Sept. 3d, 1863.

"On Tuesday morning last the colored soldiers at Providence, numbering from 300 to 400, were paid the balance of their bounty money, amounting to \$50 to each man, and were allowed the privilege to go where they pleased until the next day (Wednesday) morning. On Wednesday morning every soldier was upon his ground at the appointed time, ready to proceed to the camp. Not a man of them was or had been in the least degree under the influence of liquor, and all went to the camp in good spirits, thoroughly in earnest, and proud of the opportunity to vindicate their manhood. If they ever have an opportunity to meet the rebels these soldiers will surely give a good account of themselves."

This is, certainly, a remarkable fact. The colored people have good reason to be proud of it. Hardly in one case in a hundred could this experiment have been tried upon our army, without issuing in the temporary absence or desertion of at least half of the company.

Now, what is the treatment of our government towards this class of our soldiers? Do we offer them the same inducements for the service as the white soldiers? the same bounty? the same wages? If not, why not? How can we expect the blessing of Almighty God, if we carry our oppression of the colored race even into the army, and there deprive them of a portion of their just dues? It is said that the soldiers of the Massachusetts 5th (colored) regiment, decline to accept the pay of 10 dollars per month, which is all that is allowed them by the War Department, under a construction of the law classing them with laborers and Contrabands. This is new proof both of the nobleness of the men and the injustice of their treatment.

A WORD OF SYMPATHY FROM FRANCE.

Whatever may be the selfish or ambitious schemes of Louis Napoleon and his satellites, in view of the present struggles on the American Continent, let it not be supposed that the people of France are hostile to the United States, and a free government. Many of her ablest writers, among whom we mention Comte de Gasparin and M. Coghien, are among our warmest sympathizers and most enthusiastic defenders. To show in what light her men of intellect and culture regard our great national struggle, we are permitted to quote the following brief extract from a private letter of an eminent French author, to a friend in this city:

"I wish that, as you say, the study of the past had given me enlightenment enough on the future to enable me to predict something concerning the issue of the double crisis in which America and Europe are now struggling. The new phases are obscure and threatening; as to the final issue, I have confidence. I believe in the triumph of free nationalities in Europe and in America; in the greatness and unlimited future of the democratic Republic, purged of slavery. But through what tempests are we destined to pass! You have just experienced a cruel one in New York."

Henri Martin, author of the History of France, in 17 volumes, a translation of which will be published early in the Spring, by Walker, Wise, & Co.

Light in Tennessee.—Under the head of Political, in our news department, will be found sketches of speeches from Gov. Johnson, which are cheering. The Governor comes out decidedly in favor of immediate emancipation.

Fernando Wood publishes a correspondence between himself and the President, as evidence of the truth of his assertion that the President had received and had refused a proposition of peace from the leaders of the rebellion. The correspondence proved no such thing, unless Fernando Wood himself is one of the leaders of the rebellion. He named nobody else to the President as making any proposals, or as authorizing any to be made.

Copperhead Diabolism.—The N. Y. Herald, Sept. 1, under the head of "The massacre at Lawrence," opposes the appeals made on behalf of the sufferers at Lawrence on the ground that "the people of Kansas have brought these horrors upon themselves," and are "already making reprisals,"—and proceeds to name leading abolitionists and leading rebels as equally "guilty of originating these atrocities."

The World, Sept. 8, announces that Gen. Jim Lane is to march from Paola, Kansas, to-day, at the head of 8000 abolition guerrillas from that State, to avenge the massacre at Lawrence.—and says he should be arrested, tried and executed as a felon, and the abolition raid into Missouri stopped.

All this is in keeping with the insinuations of the New Yorkists.

WHO GOT UP THE REBELLION?

It is a favorite game of the Copperheads to charge that the war in which we are involved was got up by the "Abolitionists." But the subject needs no discussion. These few plain facts settle it, all of them having taken place under the Administration of James Buchanan:

Dec. 10, 1860.—South Carolina seceded.

Jan. 8, 1861.—Mississippi seceded.

Jan. 16, 1861.—Florida seceded.

Jan. 19, 1861.—Georgia seceded.

Jan. 31, 1861.—Louisiana revolted.

Feb. 1, 1861.—Texas revolted.

Feb. 5, 1861.—Arkansas revolted.

Feb. 9, 1861.—Jefferson Davis was inaugurated President of the Southern Confederacy. Now who got up the rebellion? Under which king?

W. M.

LITERARY.

Hospital Sketches. By LOUISA M. ALCOCK. BOSTON: JAMES REDPATH. New York: J. J. Spelman, 70 Grove Street.

